/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked" /cited in English/ must thus be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (94). Girls learn to conduct them-

94. See page 53 as to the conduct of young Kamanakwipa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a weak string around the hips, but, as Hyades (p) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this shakaara, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

Hyades (p) :330 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "It is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I carefully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad weather. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

/632 cont./

864 before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do [833] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

•867 It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

584 Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the ceremonies, they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/643 cont./

837 too, is that a lawful husband is abused when his wife puts herself in the hands of a devoted rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

584 In one place Hyades (q) 378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (20).

20. The two forms mentioned by Bove (c):128 are mutually exclusive, for he says: "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Courtship rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

• 867 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in occasional conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words: "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

/643 cont./

•867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced
586 from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become
578 united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is
736 an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
604 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is ap-

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

proved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

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Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

836 /686 cont./
867 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

836 Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper conduct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not [581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

431 A few effective protective measures for special occasions
834 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

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861 626 Finally, and no less earnestly, it is the concern of the larger group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children; it admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring; it continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /744/ čiexaus. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fuegians proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

B. Training Practices

• 867 Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

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•867 Spegazzini (a):165 could maintain that in their language the Yamana "do not have a verb that corresponds to our 'obey,'" and further that the little ones "know nothing of obedience and the children do whatever they like" /translated from Spanish/.

"Whatever your father tells you is a guide for you; he knows what is customary among us from the people of former times."

"Take whatever the old people tell you [in the way of instruction and warning] very seriously, for they have your interests and your happiness at heart."

"Do not make a lot of noise with other children around a strange hut; there are perhaps old people inside [who deserve respect].

"It is not at all nice to quarrel with other children; a child who does that will later on, as an adult, quarrel with his neighbors, and no one will like him."

"Do not eat what you have gathered [in the way of mussels and berries] all alone. Give some to other children, for they, too, will think of you when they have something [similar]."

These few words, which I picked up quite casually and which I could expand considerably, prove that the Yamana give brief and perfectly clear /745/ commands and that their instruction is based on easily understood reasons, hence their favorable effect.

One can easily understand the gist of their admonitions from the short sentences we have listed and from many other statements. There are certain virtues that are cultivated and recommended with great zeal by the Yamana. Foremost among them is veneration for the good things of old, namely, traditions, tribal customs, and the prevailing practices, but also for the representatives of all this, the honored elders. Submissiveness and prompt obedience by the children follow as a matter of course. The helpfulness and unselfishness of an individual toward all tribal members are no less cherished. Everyone must share his booty generously and must share his tools with a person who is suddenly in difficulties. Contentment and a quiet nature are very much

/745 cont./

867 recommended, as are busy activity and untiring industry, so that everyone to the best of his capacity can serve the members of his own family. A person who gets along well with everyone is very popular.

These and other virtues are, of course, not recommended to the smaller children as explicitly as they are to the older ones and, even more, to the candidates of the youth initiation. Everyone is made familiar with them insofar as he can grasp them. I shall, therefore, not give in detail the entire content of Yamana wisdom in guidance until I describe the youth initiation (182).

> 182. I am unable to understand how Bridges could make the following basically false assertion: "Of course the education and discipline of children are nearly wholly neglected, children are allowed to grow up wild, following their own whims and desires; thus they become of necessity disobedient, rude, wilful, lazy and proud" /cited in English (MM:III, 117;1869).

In the course of all training, they deliberately take into consideration the personal aptitude and the momentary requirements of the child. Sensitive natures are treated with extraordinary kindness and patience; stubborn rascals are tamed with pitiless severity. They try to win over girls with gentle persuasion; threats are more speedily effective with boys. Several adults work together with tenacious firmness if they wish to eradicate a serious fault in a boy. Calderon's oldest son was a troublesome scamp, but when he ran after girls of his own age, despite many warnings, a few adults were so irritated that they dogged his footsteps. Walter's son and, even more, his slightly younger daughter were so spoiled by their mother that several women spoke of it in disgust. "That girl will never grow up to be a useful wife," Mary once told me, quite indignantly, "for her mother is constantly holding her in her arms, so to speak!"

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867 If there are clear indications of weakness of character in a child, the parents and adults call attention to it, with a view /746/ to combining their skill in influencing the child. Outsiders make a greater effort if the child's own parents do not treat it properly or even have a detrimental effect by their bad example. Calderon's sons get on everybody's nerves because they are troublesome and lazy ne'er-do-wells, and people explain it by pointedly referring to the boys' father whose character they reflect. Sympathy for a child who has been spoiled through no fault of his own constantly impels neighbors to work patiently and perserveringly for his improvement. This individual training of a single child is later consciously carried further in the youth initiation, and particular exercises are specially adapted to the respective need.

867 861 Our Yamana do not rest content with dry instruction and colorless indoctrination; they assure themselves of success by the purposeful application of a few effective measures. Above all they titillate the child's love of self and his ambition. This, in turn, shows convincingly how definitely and palpably they make arrangements to suit the child's comprehension. We add here a few admonitions to the list given above.

"Be willing to help, then everybody will praise you and speak well of you."

"If you keep yourself clean and immaculate, others will be happy to visit you and will gladly associate with you."

"Give other people good and beautiful things as presents; they will speak of you far and wide and surprise you, too, with choice presents."

"Be silent and do not repeat derogatory things about a person to others. The person will be grateful that you did not expose him to gossip, and everybody who learns about it [about your discretion] will put his trust in you."

I obtained the last two sentences from Mary. Similar admonitions are repeated to the candidates for the youth initiation and to girls on the occasion of the menarche.

861 If these gentle measures do not suffice, definite and serious threats follow; from the latter to actual punishment is only a short step. If children are noisy around the huts and do not go away after the first appeal, a stick of wood hurled in their

/755 cont./
881 for her (191).
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191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

881 In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or
[173] nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a tí'ikipa sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakúma /water spirit/ came along, seized this tí'ikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

881 The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the
867 tí'ikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restrictions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the tí'ikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 391). Every tí'ikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

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"If someone enters your hut, he will sit down beside the fire. If he wants to eat a few mussels, do not refuse to give them to him, but offer them willingly."

"You must not fuss and scold grumble and find fault when you are in your hut or in front of it. It is not seemly for a woman constantly to shriek and give vent to her anger."

"If an old man asks you for fire or wood or water, give him what he needs immediately and gladly. Venerate old people, do not laugh at them."

"If a blind man comes along, take him into your hut willingly and give him something to eat."

"If you hear something bad and unfavorable about another woman, do not immediately tell it to someone else; that kind of gossip about others breeds discord. You don't like it either if others talk about you contemptuously and negatively behind your back. If you repeat all the gossip you hear, other women will avoid you and among themselves they will say of you: 'That one is a gossipy woman!'"

"Always be true to your husband; defend him when others find fault with him and wish him ill."

"Soon you will have a husband. If he should transgress and secretly go after another woman, do not imitate him; do not believe that you may now take up with another man. Never forget: you are a woman, he is a man (192)! Soon he will be convinced

192. I was told that when a man takes liberties in this respect, his mistakes are generally less seriously condemned than if a woman permits herself the same transgressions. One expects a woman to be faithful under all circumstances, even in the face of her husband's violations.

that you are faithful to him nevertheless [in spite of his delinquencies]. Then he will realize his guilt and leave that other woman so as to belong wholly to you."

"Always be busy and industrious. Keep your things and your implements in good order."

"Take care of your children, then you will experience much joy with them."

/756 cont./

881 867 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot in the huts create /757/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wélix [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were tú²ikipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of čílĕr² /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 302 During these days the tú²ikipa is also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ímí /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 574 The conclusion of all the observances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called tú²ikipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD:423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the tú²ikipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/774 cont./

593 861 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in Europe."

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, sáps, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

/775 cont./

jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (x):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (x):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents. But no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

/942 cont./

example, we are amazed at the soundness of the training skills of these simple, misunderstood Fuegians, which is shown particularly in the initiation. It also shows the simple means with which these primitive people attain a lofty educational goal, for these means have been chosen and wisely applied on the basis of an unprejudiced observation of human nature. The Yahgan need counteract neither a general nor a temporary miseducation of youth, for parental rearing is good and reliable throughout (382).

> 382. The principles upon which parental training has been built (p. 555) are, of course, also recognized and enlarged upon in the initiation, but the instruction there never makes any specific reference in so many words to these principles. They do not say: "Your father has already told you this" or "When you were small you were already forbidden to do this."

This simplifies the efforts of the elders in training the whole and the method is almost completely unified. Along with it, however, there is a strictly personal approach in influencing one child or another, hence an altogether individual training according to the character and spiritual needs of this or that candidate. It is chiefly in the actual precepts for young people that our Yamana reveal a valuable and wise philosophy of life which many generations have developed.

The Yahgan celebration is so popular for adults and always strongly attracts them to the place where it is held because tumultuously this affair to a large extent satisfies the need of everyone for society and the exchange of ideas. Everyone's expectations are fulfilled on these occasions, but this is not the end of the matter. More than this, as they be seen at first glance, a strong desire grips these simple primitive people to consider thoughtfully once again their traditional tribal heritage, once more to revive the old customs (383), to recall the precepts and admonitions that

> 383. Here we may definitely name that certain old myths may be told only during the initiation.

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Naturally, the person who does this only knows them well, but can also tell them in a lively way.

a well-meaning instructor earnestly recommended to each of them at the time of their candidacy, and finally once again to search their consciences thoroughly on the subject of what constitutes a "good and useful Tomano." Our Pongians have a natural tendency toward speculative and searching meditation about their own egos.

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In this respect they far surpass the neighboring Sukiyam. This tendency is greatly fostered by the long silences in the Great Hut, during which everyone is left to himself. Even if the many games and races, which make allowance for every social need, were omitted, our Indians would gladly come to this affair solely for the satisfaction they find in deep meditation during the Silence.

X 971

The following account of the adult program should be evaluated in the light of these particular considerations. It also clearly shows the springs tapped by every Tomano so that he will not become spiritually impoverished and lose his strong inner support. The Tomano do not, of course, put all of these things into words. It is only from close and prolonged observation of their conduct that I have recognized the various details and the basic characteristics of their nature.

At the present time the procedure of the initiation rites and changes from day to day, just as it did formerly. Nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to present exactly, on the basis of at least one such affair, the events and occurrences of each day. A brief reference to the procedure of the following celebration in March, 1933, will follow this long discussion.

1. The Adult Assembly

Following the evidence of the man who has been chosen as leader of the initiation, the individual families also move to the site agreed upon. Each family builds its own hut or two families will agree on a common hut. Meanwhile many hands toil at building and furnishing the Great Hut. Each adult realizes his firsthand intercession and his duties well, both of which must always

/863 cont./
them that a person has dutifully set through his term as ulwefele in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The external measures to which each candidate of the Tifonge hut is subjected are really designed to better his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each ulwefele amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the Tifonge.

/864/ β. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Tifonge is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Albedo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whoto had all the ulwefele sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

L: Cornell--716 E-6 (1919-1936) 1937 SSR Tsingan 006

/984 cont./
way of rules for living and that for them even safety is the backbone of a moral way of life.

1. The Teacher. The efforts made by the adults on behalf of their young people aim toward making them morally good human beings who are not only capable in all manual skills and faithful in the performance of their daily work, but who act properly from inner conviction and the dictates of conscience. Our Tungians also have their own, definite, clearly defined ideal of education. This is kept constantly in mind by the teachers of youth in the personal but as well as those in the Pakhuz but. The basic ideas seem so natural and beneficial that one would think they had been taken from our European world of ideas. The educational goal is summed up in one phrase: "Everyone must become a good and useful Tuvanca (283)!" The adults move straight toward this

[11]

283. We should like to emphasize that the expression has been literally translated. It coincides exactly with the Soviet conception of the educational ideal, and they express it in the same words (Vol. I, 1928). The complete consistency of the two tribes in this significant manner is not surprising if we realize that the social order is one and the same both here and there, in spite of the stronger effect of the matriarchal influence in certain respects among the Soviet Turs.

goal with relentless severity, apply all kinds of methods, and struggle for it emotionally.

In the Pakhuz but the general rules of life that are valid for the Tuvanca and dominate their public as well as personal life are presented to the candidates. Many of these rules have become familiar to the children early in the parental but, but now they are placed before them as a compact, coherent body of individual /985/ regulations. In their entirety they serve the one great purpose of making a good and useful member of society out of every young person. Our Tungians agree that society can maintain itself only if every individual adapts himself to the

L. Comedie—TLS 0-0 (1914-1929) 1927 ONE Religion 1928

[illegible] ordeal ended. It is fortunate in that it allows with its ceremonies and does not disturb community life through personal events. A far-reaching, uniform guiding of young people develops to one of the requirements of education. The common initiation serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo the protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the customs which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every [illegible] is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

[illegible] Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as [illegible], is always an enigmatic personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in actions mostly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not [illegible] he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he often feeds. They have an effect on the [illegible] that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

[illegible] His words live with the deepest seriousness and out of innermost conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation as one afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he feels impelled to promote. When the common work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at one as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle severity and the perceptible

/Next page./

warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with personal concern for the future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole tribe. During his /fifth/ simple discourse, all these present listen in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them. Each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and admonitions to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

Such addresses were the most remembered hours that I spent each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful chela also, and they do not begin there even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve in their most precious memory whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adepts were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were chelas. Again these Tungians prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and true-race education.

Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the chelas two or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he spoke slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfreda told me in this connection. At my first interview he took turns with the venerable White, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the Silence was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you chelas every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

> 284. He wished to apologize because he and White took up one time each evening. This was necessary to the earlier reason which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left to between (285). The chelas are

> 285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

L. Gumilla--722 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5198 Yahgan 5198

/987 cont./

One understands the difficult position of many an ufwjala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the ufwjala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself, in your own dwelling! (286)!"

286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

/866 cont./

supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

In the common instruction the candidates are, of course, offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding. The people are not content with this in the čéxaus, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /867/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the uǐwǎ́ala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the uǐwǎ́ala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an uǐwǎ́ala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

/868/ All those who on this occasion and unofficially trouble themselves about one of the candidates here in the čiexaus are motivated by the best intentions for his personal good and for the good of the tribal community. We cannot give figures for how often they give their instructions and how long these continue; it depends on the prevailing circumstances or necessity. This strict individual training does, however, form an important part of the entire training program.

2. Essence of the Teaching. I am unfortunately not in a position to reproduce the exact wording of the exhortations which during my first initiation were repeatedly impressed upon each Indian uwčala personally by one or another adult. Therefore much that is valuable in the art of education and the life experience of those simple people of Tierra del Fuego will escape us. A substitute is afforded by the teachings which a few of the adults were able to repeat verbatim from their initiations. They all assured me that these principles were only a part of everything that they learned as uwčala (287). Each teaching serves the one clearly defined

287. It is true, however, that one rule of conduct or another was held up to them several times in the same words on different days. Hence the account probably contains the essentials.

goal of making the candidate "a good and useful human being."

At my request my sponsor repeated the teachings that he received as an uwčala in 1907, that is, about 25 years ago. I shall set them down here as he gave them to me, without change.

/869/ "You will soon get married and then you will have your husband; do not quarrel with him.

"If other women speak injuriously about you, if they want to quarrel with you, keep silent and do not talk; that would only lead to a quarrel. Go quietly about your business so that the others will not see you. Finally they will be obliged to say: 'She is, after all, an industrious and quiet woman!'

"If at night your husband creeps stealthily away from his bed (288) because he thinks you are asleep, do not say anything

288. The implication is that he is going to

1: Gwinde--725 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S106 Yahgan S106

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/869 cont./

seek another woman for illicit intercourse.

and let him go.

"You may not deprive other women of drinking water; that is something you must fetch for yourself.

"Get up betimes in the morning. Even if several men are in the hut, you must always get up early (289).

289. That is to say: "Sometimes men permit themselves somewhat more rest in the morning because they have hard work to do or because they are still very tired from a strenuous hunt. You may not take this as an excuse to be lazy yourself."

"If a visitor stays in your hut a long time, do not crossly find fault with him because he does not leave.

"If your father is already dead and you see an older man who needs something, give him what he lacks. Do not say: 'That man does not concern me, he is not my father.'

"If you have children, be happy over each one. Do not perhaps kill one or neglect it. Care for all of them and be fond of them. Other people will then praise you and say: 'She is a good mother, she loves her children very much!'

"If old women come to your hut who are weak and very infirm, do not become indignant and do not drive them out. Receive them pleasantly. Say to them: 'Sit down here by the fire. I'll get you something to eat immediately!' Fetch what you have and offer it to them.

"If you have gathered fruit or mussels, invite other people in and let them share what you have brought home.

"If several women are sitting together intimately and if they talk about all kinds of things, do not start gossiping and do not tell unfavorable things about other women.

"If your husband should associate with other women and you notice this, be quiet and do not say anything.

"Do not quarrel with your husband about every little thing, otherwise he will become irritated and discontent. If your husband has really made a mistake some time, you should not immediately

/869 cont./
shout and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

"Watch out for Watagindwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the ɔ̃ŋ̃ɡalo often said in the morning here in the ɲ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɲɛ but when they got up early and stepped out: "ŋ̃ɛ̃a ɲ̃ɛ̃ɛm ɔ̃ŋ̃ɡalo (kipa) ŋ̃ɛ̃, wɛ̃ (291)!" That is what ɔ̃ɔ̃ɲɛ (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are new candidates, come on!"

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

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present it has been a good example for the candidates. Since then, when the thrush sees a sleepy-head or a sloggard, it calls him with its "was, was," as though it wanted to say: "Soon you will die!" Thus every candidate must beat the thrush in getting up and, when he sees it in the morning, must quickly call to it, "was, was," in order to put the onus of the words "Soon you will die!" on it. At the same time the candidate is supposed to break a twig or a stick busily and noisily to convince the thrush that he is active and industrious.

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"Do you see that bird there, all by itself, separated from all the others? That is what will happen to you if you do not observe all these teachings. You will gradually detach yourself from the others and will finally stand alone; then you will no longer be happy, you will become weak and ill and die prematurely. Before the sun rises blithely rise from your bed.

"The teacher told us repeatedly: 'If you do not pay attention to these teachings and neglect them, you will have few children later on and even these will soon die. Never forget my advice and my teachings!'"

Nelly Lawrence carefully noted the following sayings from her days as ulwalo and willingly reposed them.

"You will probably soon get married and build your own hut. If occasionally someone comes to you [on a visit] and helps himself to the mussels or crabs or fish that happen to be roasting at your fire, do not be angry. Rather, be glad, for it is an honor for you that a stranger comes to your hut and eats with you.

"When you are married carefully avoid arguing and quarreling with your husband.

/871/ "Be faithful to him. If he should forget himself and associate with another woman, bear [your sorrow] patiently. But do not suppose that you, also, may now secretly go to another man, for you are a woman. Your husband will realize that you are being faithful to him. He will be pleased with you and will soon break off with that other woman.

/871 cont./

"If you find a dog [that is lost], take him into your canoe and bring him to his master. Perhaps that man is looking for him. If you bring his dog back to him, he will be pleased and very content. He will tell other people and say about you: 'The one there is a good woman!'

"Never take anything away from other people. A person who steals is liked by no one, and everyone avoids him.

"Begin your day's work very early in the morning. Watauinéiwa observes every sluggard. Watauinéiwa will [as punishment] soon [i.e., prematurely] cause you to die if you are a lazy lie-abed.

"Always be willing to fetch water and wood and to tend the fire. Also keep an eye open to be of service to aged men and women when they need something.

"Do not flare up about every little thing.

"Do not immediately gossip about something you have heard about others, for in that way you could easily stir up quarrels and discord.

"When you are walking along by yourself, do not look inquisitively at everything, but keep your eyes strictly in front of you on the ground and keep your head slightly bowed.

"I was told many other things in the čiéxaus. At that time my own father happened to be the overseer. I earnestly assured him: 'I shall strictly observe all your instructions!' I faithfully followed those and the other admonitions. That is the way our Yamana like to have it."

Chris also repeated the teachings and the advice that he received on the occasion of his initiation in 1896.

"My old ówala kinúna [teacher] and also my sponsor of those days are both dead.

"After Yoiita had departed (293), the piece of hide with

293. After the two of them had wrestled with each other directly after Chris had been brought into the Great Hut. See the description of this struggle on p. 699.

which my face had been covered (294) was removed. Immediately

294. He is referring to the following custom:

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"'Afterwards when you turn toward the Great Hut, do not walk crisscross through the woods. Also do not play with other uíwíala, do not leap gaily past the tree trunks, but maintain a serious, quiet attitude and take a straight path. Do not look to right or left. Always behave properly!' This was what my spotmor said.

"Toward noon we returned to the čexaya hut. In the late afternoon an aged man called us uíwíala together. We sat down [in a semicircle] on the ground in front of him. He talked to us in the following manner.

"'You must always think about what you see and hear in this place. Never forget it. Keep it [secret] to yourself and never talk about it in the dwellings, otherwise dire punishment will be inflicted. An uíwíala who afterwards blurts out everything will soon die.

"'Show great respect to old people. If several of them are gathered together, keep quiet and do not interrupt their conversation. Don't any of you gossip about what you have heard from others in any of the huts.

"'If you hear something disparaging about someone, do not use it to go into a long discussion with others, for that makes bad blood. Sooner or /874/ later after all others will judge you and will say of you: "He is a bad person; he gossips about what is unpleasant for others!"

"'You may have many friends. But if you should start to gossip about anything and everything, they will soon learn about it. They will think: "He is a bad man!" Gradually they will withdraw from you. No matter how numerous your family is, no one will then support you and help you.

"'If you bring back rich booty from the hunt and if none of your special friends is in the camp, but rather a large number of other people, share everything with them. They will remember it well and everyone will praise you. If later on you should happen to come to their territory, they, too, will willingly help you. When you are sharing your booty, your relatives should come last. Other people are watching you; they will say of you: "What a good man!" Even if you have but three mussels, give them to others.

/874 cont./

"'If you have become a good hunter, you will often return home with a good kill. Share it all [with the neighbors]. Some day you are sure to come to a place where you will hunt and be all by yourself. Then you may consume everything that you have obtained [as booty] all by yourself. But if other people are in the vicinity, you must invite all of them who are staying near you.

"'If your wife comes from another region where you do not know anyone and if you visit there, those people will look up your wife and talk with her a great deal, whereas they will scarcely exchange a word with you. Do not become excited about this and do not show your displeasure openly, speak about it only to your wife. Instead of making a big fuss and getting excited about your wife, instead of threatening to kill her, it is more advisable to let her go. This decision is much more advantageous for you, for your wife, and for both your families. Rather let her go, this solves everything at once.

"'You must never kill anyone. This is always better [in any kind of quarrel] for you and for all the others.

"'Think constantly of this, my teaching and advice, then you will live a quiet life.

"'I repeat again to you: later you will think of me! No matter what happens to you in life, you will immediately think of me! Then you will realize at once how you should conduct yourself and how you should decide. In this way you will guard yourself against hasty action and this will be better for you and others. You will often be reminded of me!

"'If people have realized that you harm no one and an evil-minded person comes along who would like to hurt you, do not worry about it! Other people will certainly speak in your favor /875/ and take your side; you yourself need not make any effort nor specifically ask your well-meaning neighbors for help.

"'If an old woman should begin to chat and bring up boring matters that go far back and no longer interest anyone, do not leave the hut out of boredom, sit still and listen to it anyway. You will surely hear something good or a story that may be useful to you. Wait, therefore, until the old woman has finished. If you yourself, when you are old, should on occasion relate something and then realize how one person after another avoids you and creeps out of the hut while you are talking or that a few people

/8715 cont./

are meanwhile talking among themselves about something else, you will be very much annoyed by it. It will be extremely unpleasant for you to be left sitting alone [while you are talking]. Therefore always be attentive to others.

* "Do not torture animals, least of all your dog. And do not mistreat other people's animals.

* "Do not steal, it will not be advantageous for you. You don't like it either if someone takes your things. Protect things that belong to other people, treat them as though they were your own. If you need something, go into any hut and ask for it, it will be given to you there. Hence you do not need to steal at all.

* "If you have fallen in love with the wife of another man, you would like to take her for yourself. This can end badly and her kinsmen could even murder you. You wouldn't like it either if someone took away your wife. Never love respect for the wife of another man.

* "Remember this advice and think of the teachings that I give you here.

* "If an old man asks you -- it will probably not happen -- "Bring me some wood," then do it. If you are standing close to a man and he says softly, as though to himself, but so that you hear it: "Oh dear, I did not succeed today in getting enough wood for the night!" -- go immediately into the forest and fetch wood. The old man will be very pleased about it. He wanted to avoid coming out openly [to so many words] with his request.

* "If you are near a woman who is apparently mumbling to herself: "It's too bad, I forgot to fetch water for myself today!" -- immediately pick up your bucket and carry the water to her hut. The other people will be pleased with you, they will say: "That is a nice boy!" The next day the woman will provide for herself in time. Help everyone. Then the old people will be pleased, because they did the same thing in their youth.

* "If you have achieved great manual dexterity so that everyone values the things you make, give away first of all the things that have turned out best. Do not keep the nicest pieces for yourself and get rid of the inferior ones. /8716/ If you give others only inferior things as a present, those people will think: "Why did he give me this poorly made object? The thing won't be any

/976 cont./

good to me anyway!" They will accept it [the object], but afterwards they will throw it away. Make useful, beautiful things and give only these to other people. Then they will say: "This is an excellent harpoon point! That man gave it to me. He did a clever piece of work which I shall show other people. I'll take good care of this piece!"

"Take good care of your father-in-law and be constantly concerned about him. Make all the implements he needs. See what he needs and get him plenty of meat. You must give more attention and care to him than to your own father.

"If you get into a quarrel with a man and you say to him excitedly, "I shall strangle you!" that is not wise behavior. You will not really kill him anyway; you just say that to make him afraid. Other people won't take your word seriously either. If you are actually planning to murder someone, you will surely not say a word about it to others! Therefore avoid such talk [not seriously meant]. It could even happen that the other one, hearing your threat, might promptly murder you.

"Above all, never say a word in the dwellings of what you hear here. Otherwise we shall meet the same fate that overtook everyone back in Tilaqdjax /a place name/ during the great upheaval. At that time two girls were talking outside the House that of what went on inside. They turned into ducks and have since then remained in the lagoon. Now they can no longer talk and no one thinks of them because no one knows them (XI).

> XI. Here again there is definite reference to the events that took place at the founding of the men's secret association, which previous to that were held by the women. See Gwinde (TIS) 5000 where these two girls, or ducks, are mentioned.

"Have a care for this earth [for Tsalgan from under it] and for the rising sun. No matter how weary you are, leap up quickly from your bed as soon as the sun rises, so that it will not find you there. Get up regularly from your bed before the sun appears, otherwise you will soon die.

/975-cont./

"Heed all the advice faithfully. Watayinḏjwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly.

"Everywhere and always be respectful toward old people. Do not be forward when you are with them.

"Always give other people what you have brought back from the hunt.

"Be industrious in your work. Don't quarrel with others.

"All these teachings you will surely remember forever. In the various situations of life you will think of me and you will immediately recall how I talked to you here on this occasion. Act accordingly and you will be a happy man!"

/977/ "During the last days of the ḏiḏaga we alwaḏala frequently had to go hunting with the men; the girls gathered mussels and helped the women fish (306). Finally the big feast was

306. One of the chief reasons for the greater activity of the men and women, accompanied by the candidates, is their concern about obtaining abundant food for the great feast at the conclusion of the youth initiation.

held, in which all the people participated. Every alwaḏala distributed meat to all those present; the last piece was for the alwaḏala himself. After I had passed around the meat of a sea lion, my spouse said to me: "The last piece is for you! Before you eat it go into the forest and say to the tree trunks: "Some [of] my alwaḏala I have distributed [meat to the many participants at the great concluding feast, alwaḏala ḏiṉu]!" Then come back here again immediately!" This I did. I went into the woods and addressed the trees: "I have distributed meat of the sea lion among the people!" Later I had to take the meat of birds to each of the many participants, the last piece I kept for myself. Again I went into the woods and addressed the trees: 'At the big feast I have now also distributed the meat of birds among all the people!' Then we alwaḏala were also permitted to eat abundantly and we were very happy. Several times I had to address [in the manner described] the trees over there in the forest (307). Finally

307. Later it was explained to me that this

/877 cont./

X881 "Keep to yourself what goes on here; do not talk about it everywhere outside in front of others (305).

305. The restriction is primarily against tattling in front of minors who should not prematurely lose their respect and fear of the Great Hut. For further reference to this restriction see also footnote 307 on page 948.

•867 X881 /878/ "Here we tell you: 'Be industrious in your work. Do your work gladly and quickly. Get up early in the morning, then you will always be prepared with everything [that is necessary]!'

"Show respect toward old people. Help orphans. Bring something to the sick who cannot get up. Practice all this in later life also.

"If you meet a blind man on your path, go up to him and ask him: 'Where are you going?' He will tell you. Perhaps you will hear that he has gone astray. Say to him immediately: 'But you have taken the wrong path!' Gratefully he will reply: 'So I have lost my way!' Then ask him: 'Where do you want to go, so that I can lead you?' He will answer you: 'I want to go to my hut!' Then take him by the hand and lead him there. But do not let him go on [without querying him], so that he becomes lost; do not laugh at him. If he should stammer and act clumsily, do not smile to yourself and do not think: 'He doesn't see me anyway!' Rather, take him by the hand immediately and lead him to his hut. Other people will praise you for it and will say: 'That man is good!'

"If an old man is in need of something, give him what you have. Other people will praise you for this.

"If you have many relatives and one of them comes from a distance, take him into your hut without delay. Let him have what he needs. If his children should throw all your things into disorder or break something, do not get excited and do not scold. In any case the parents of the children will see to it that you suffer no loss, and they themselves will disapprove of their children's behavior. It may happen, however, that something of yours is

/878 cont./

damaged. Well, they are children, after all! If, immediately afterwards, you should say in other hats, 'The children of my relative brought great disorder among all my things, they broke all kinds of things!' your talk will certainly one day reach the parents' ears and displease them very much. After that no one will want to stay in your hut.

"You will perhaps visit a hut where a sick man is lying on his bed. He needs something and will be talking to himself thus: 'I'd like that thing hanging there on the wall. If only someone would hand it to me!' Get up immediately and hand the old man what he wants. He did not want to order you about, that is why he expressed himself thus [in that formal way]. Now the man will speak of it everywhere and will say: 'That is a good man!' Afterwards, no matter where you go, the people will say appreciatively of you: 'That is a good man!' They will gladly take you into their hut and care for you.

/879/ "If you have found a girl whom you would like to marry, behave irreproachably toward her. Do not harass the wedding improperly, but wait until her kindred give the girl to you. Even now, however, be respectful toward the parents of your bride. Do not show impatience if they still hesitate to let you have their daughter.

"Do not gossip throughout the camp about things you have observed.

"If you are married, support your wife in every way. Fetch wood and water. Help her and relieve her in her work, for you are a man and have more strength. Do not listen hither and yon: 'What do other men and women say about me?' And do not unnecessarily try to find out what other people are doing. If you do, then your wife will also try to find out what is going on everywhere. The Tenneo do not like such behavior, and it causes bad gossip. If your wife tells you gossip, don't pay any attention to it. Advise your wife thus: 'Be silent and do not meddle in the affairs of others and do not scold about everything! The others will calm down by themselves if you do not join their talk. Then all the men will praise you and the women will like you too!'

"If you go visiting in a hut, be friendly and inconspicuous.

"If many visitors come to your hut and you yourself have but little to give to them, think first of the strangers, afterwards give

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your friends and relatives what is left over. The latter will find it convenient to visit you again and have their fill of food, but not the strange visitors who come from a distant region to visit you. Serve them first and amply.

"If it should happen accidentally that you are sitting alone with your kinsmen, do not complain about your wife if she should not be present. You may never hear her. Your father-in-law will one day hear that you have beaten his daughter. He will say: 'That man took my daughter away from me, went with her to his family, and there he beats her!' Later on, if you should visit your father-in-law, he would not let you enter his hut. He will run away from you and finally will take his daughter away.

"Do not seek to benefit only yourself, but think of other people also. If you yourself have an abundance, do not say: 'The others do not concern me, I need not bother about them!' If you were lucky in hunting, let others share in. Moreover, show them the favourable spot where there are many ox-lone which can be easily slain. Let others have their share occasionally. If you want to secure everything for yourself, other people will run away from you and no one will want to be with you. If you should one day fall ill, no one will visit you because, for your part, you did not formerly concern yourself about others.

/880/ "If you come into the region where you were born and you want to set up camp with several other people, give them [the ones who are unfamiliar with the site] the darkened place. You be content with a less advantageous spot. Do not think: 'What do I care if these strangers lose their cattle!' Rather, take good care of the visiting strangers, for they will return home and there they will praise you.

"If you know of a favourable hunting ground there [where you were born], encourage the visitors and say: 'Go to that place, there you will surely find rich booty!' Point the place out to them exactly so that they also can obtain large amounts of meat to take on their journey.

"Never slay people something else. The Furies do not like a person who are selfishly.

"No one likes a perverse, obstinate person. everyone speaks scornfully of him and avoids him.

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"If you and your family enjoy a hut on Hiriman and a sleeping place is offered you, remain there. You should, however, help the people in their work and, on your own initiative, lend a hand where there is something to be done. No one will ask you to help. Just open your eyes and you will soon see where you can help! Perhaps there is no water or wood, possibly there is snow in front of the entrance. Lend a hand there! That kind of person is liked everywhere and is willingly taken in by everyone. It is not proper for you to sit down quietly and let others work for you. Some someone will make a very face and you will wonder about it, but no one will tell you the real reason. It is here, after all, to help the others in their work. Help with everything until the day you travel on.

"If, once the men into whose hut you have moved [as a visitor] is having a feud with another, do not interfere. You will perhaps be told a great deal about it and all kinds of things will be explained [one-sidedly]. Listen to everything quietly, but do not take sides against the man toward whom hostility is shown. If later you have an opportunity, talk to him alone. Speak confidentially and tell him all about it, but with good intentions and dispassionately. He will listen to you. But if he should not let you talk, withdraw quietly. Even though you should be stronger than he, do not start a fight, do not leave him and do not kill him, even if he should be your enemy. This would be a great disadvantage to his family who would take it very seriously. There might even be a fight, and you would have to make amends to the other family. It might also happen that you would later be obliged to hear that these opponents have murdered your father or your mother in revenge because you are a murderer. You won't like that. Believe, avoid that other man, keep away from your enemy on a matter of principle, so that you will not one day be overcome with anger and excitement. In that way no harm can come about.

/991/ "Every day when you wake up in the morning, think of the admonitions which we give you here in the Palongo, remember them well and never cease practicing them. If today you visit a good hotel, in a few days you will skip a second and third, and then a great many other things will soon be forgotten. See if you

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observe everything truthfully, you will be able to lead a pleasant life.

"If you are in a large group of people, do not slander one or another member of your own family, for that causes conflicts. One must also be skillful in speech and in self-control. Even if you have really quarreled with someone, your mutually maligned relationship need not be brought out with your every word. Others listen sharply to your words and will soon notice the undercurrent. Hence do not speak scandalously of others.

"If evil talk is heaped upon you and you are attacked with outrageous words, you will be censured to travel and quarrel. It is better to withdraw and not say anything. Later, talk to the man alone when both of you have calmed down.

"Help small children who accidentally have become lost, even if they do not belong to your family. Lead them back to their mother or to their kin. Do not laughingly enjoy the spectacle of a child who has fallen or is lying in the water. Lift it up quickly and bring it to its parents. They will thank you [for the deed]. After all, you yourself want your children to get the same kind of help if they need it. If you are indifferent to strange children, other people will not bother about your children either. In case they are crying or have hurt themselves or are lying on the ground, no one will hasten to their aid. Accordingly, be concerned about the children of all the other people, for children do not have enemies. Even if the children in question should be those of your enemy, help them, for they are not your enemies and have done you no harm. It may be that you have harmed your enemy and that he persecutes you for it, but if he sees how lovingly you treat his children, it may happen that he will forgive you. He will come to you and confess: 'I forgive you the wrong you have done because you have been so good to my children.' Thus it is preferable to help all children indiscriminately and to be kind to them. It is [wrong against law] to unconditionally if someone is kind to our children.

"When you enter a hut, sit down decently, with your legs crossed under you. Look at everyone [present] pleasantly. Do not pay attention to one person only, and do not turn your back to anyone. If you devote your attention to only one person and converse [with him alone], the others will feel offended. Do

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not go visiting too often.

"In your own hut do not immediately talk about what you have just heard elsewhere. You may communicate important matters, but not /881/ aimless talk. It is much too easy to exaggerate and embroider. Later on people will find out more specifically who the gossip was, then they will find out that you were the guilty one. In fact, one of your enemies can exaggerate and misrepresent many of your words, if he wishes to bring you into ill repute.

"If you are having an argument with someone and even if you are right but the other person does not want to give in, it is better to be silent, for arguments and blows may possibly be precipitated. The other person will one day see that he is wrong.

"Do not take part in the silly talk and gossip of other people. Also do not be too truthful in exposing your secrets. Some day there will be gossip about something you have told a single person in confidence, and you might possibly lose many friends in this way. Be helpful to everyone but always sparing with words.

"Happily resume your work each morning, otherwise Yelgoo will overpower you. Save yourself from certain death, for every lazy person soon falls victim to Yelgoo. Therefore, get up on time in the morning before the sun rises.

If you have murdered another in a fit of rage, do not flee and do not hide, but give yourself up unafraid to the kinsmen of your victim. Now, too, show yourself strong enough to assume all the consequences of your deed, and do not purchase lower those consequences to your kindred. It is your fault alone, hence you must personally set things right again. A person who runs away from his deed will never make peace with himself, he will no longer feel comfortable even in his own hut.

"You must not steal from anyone, least of all from persons who are sick and infirm. If you need something, ask for it from your neighbor. But you have no right to take anything at all. People will soon notice it [the stolen goods in your hands], and after that everyone will learn that you have been stealing.

"If you should find something, do not immediately try to convince yourself: 'That belongs to me now!' For soon the owner [of the object] will appear. If he should see in your hands the

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circle he has ten, he will point his out to others and say to them: 'That one is a thief!' Possibly the owner will call his friends who will destroy everything you have and break up your room. In the end you will have nothing, all because of your stealing. No Yaiuuns can stand a thief.

"Be careful never to forget these admonitions. Live up to them and you will be successful, people will be satisfied with you and will say of you: 'That is a good man!'

"If many people are sitting together in a hut and if some of them are talking so excitedly that a brawl threatens to break out, hold back with your words so that it will not come to that. When the other people have left, you may settle matters alone with your opponent. One must /007/ honor visitors and be considerate of them so that they will be happy to return. If a visitor is not treated well somewhere, he will soon withdraw and say to himself: 'I don't like it in that hut, fights spring up quickly there!'

"If you have given someone a present, you must not expect him soon to bring you a gift in return. Whatever you give away, give it completely voluntarily. Do not immediately afterwards say: 'I gave that person a present, but he did not offer me anything in return!' If you behave that way, no one will take a present from you, but everybody will think: 'That one gives presents only so that he can get presents in return!' If you offer something to others, do it spontaneously, do not talk about it, and do not accept anything for it.

"Remember, others also have a heart with human feelings. If you hurt them, they feel pain, too. Never forget that no one likes it if you speak disparagingly of him.

"If you take a piece of meat from your hut and bring it to another, the people there will invite you to eat with them. But do not consume the largest part. You yourself arrived there with the meat and your belly was full, but those people were perhaps suffering pangs of hunger. So let them have everything that you brought for them.

"Again I impress upon you: never forget these teachings! Every morning when you wake up, remember them and conduct yourself each day according to them!"

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Toward the end of my five sessions, old Rhoda repeated to me the words which he had just uttered to one of the whole class.

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the Tahlonteeskee, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Wasindihewa] will see you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (906).

906. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Great Hut I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Tawasas, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

In some lodges I give here the first part of an address by Blind Wheeler in the late evening of March 12, 1932. He addressed the whole class, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful.

"In olden times a man left the Tahlonteeskee but not even a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /906/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring the dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yvdiha!'

"Now I want to tell you whole everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the Tahlonteeskee. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

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and do not leave it lying on the ground. Arrange it well, otherwise one piece or another that is upright will fall over. Such things happen and it means: the wood that falls over wants to warn us that we shall soon die! If you have gathered wood in the forest, do not forget to tell it that you will come after it tomorrow. Tomorrow other people may perhaps pass there and not see the wood [which you have not yet removed] until they stumble over it. Then they will say: "Who in the world left this wood lying here? That man will soon die!" If the [illegible] gotham wood he should set each stick upright and say to it: "I shall fetch you later!" This comforts the stick and it is content. But if the [illegible] says nothing at all and goes away silently, the stick that has been set upright feels hurt. To the person who has gathered wood and carelessly left it lying on the ground it will say reproachfully: "Why don't you come after me?" And it will threaten him: "You will soon die!"

"A confidante who [inwardly] feels unwell and sad should take a [beech] twig with new shoots, place it on his head for a few minutes, and then gently tap his head with it on all sides. That will cause the pain and the sadness to disappear.

"From the day you get married you possess a wife. Do not watch too closely if others come to visit your wife; do not show jealousy. Be quiet and do not be suspicious. If your wife should behave badly and give herself to another man, do not kill her, but rather let her go her way. You may never beat or mistreat your wife. If you murder her, neither you nor your family will live long, for you, too, [you and your family] will be murdered.

"As soon as you have your first child, and also when additional children are presented to you, be careful in eating and consider the customs (p. 162). Also avoid the 'harmful places.' If you are in the cocoa, you may not throw the left over betel into the water or /1920/ eat ordinary things. Choose good things to eat. During these days [before and after the birth of your child] do not use the sling, otherwise your child would remain bald or another of your children would die. If you break the calcareous shell of a sea urchin, the child will be born with a flat head. A young mother should not split wood, otherwise she will split the skull of her newborn infant. She may not break the bones or the spinal column of birds, otherwise her child will become a

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cripple. Do not eat the meat of the loggerhead duck, álalum (Tachyeres brachypterus), thus you will prevent your child from becoming lazy and slow-witted (312).

312. These precepts obviously apply to both parents immediately before and after the birth of each child, particularly and most urgently their first-born. See further details, p. 503.

"Be industrious in your work. As soon as I finish these words, hasten into the woods without delay and do not wait until you are requested to fetch wood. You can see for yourself when the fire-wood is used up."

In his further admonitions old Whaits strongly emphasized the greatest respect for tradition and the prevailing law.

The individual decrees set forth here form the main ideas of the ulwála teachings. The reason they fill up so much time in the evenings during the long period of the Túkaxas is chiefly because of the way they are presented by the ulwála kinóna. He not only speaks slowly, but repeats the same idea several times in succession; he makes long pauses and weaves in frequent references to his own experiences. Frequently he also searches his memory for things he has observed in the candidate with regard to this admonition or that virtue or vice, and he describes with great precision what each one should strive for and how each one must adjust himself. Nevertheless, the fact is that the ulwála kinóna sets forth the prevailing principles of conduct strictly dogmatically, without frequent and special consideration of the personal needs of one or another of the candidates. The latter procedure is left to relatives and friends.

The teacher almost never prolongs his address beyond an hour. When he comes to the end, he requests each candidate to go back to his place beside his sponsor. Then each ulwála meditates on the words which he has just heard from the old man, until his sponsor specifically permits him to lie down to sleep (p. 710).

3. The More Important Principles. The educational goal that the parents aim for in the dwelling with their own children and the

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one that the adults aim to achieve in the ciexaus but with the ulwala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the considerable and evident punishment that, according to the belief of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person. Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

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children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

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If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons. Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

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The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinfolk and neighbors.

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They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have enhanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kindolk and friends among themselves, the ulwéla are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the ulwéla is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors, least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles, ideas, and conceptions in high esteem, a very special form of respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

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them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended in its most diverse aspects. The Tamans demand that everyone control his appetite and his garrulousness, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged story-teller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be retiring in their behavior and above all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Tamans have been enumerated here; many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the uiwãla. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Foegian wisdom in education (313).

313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1866 (p. 641).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Foegians are not content with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the cottage hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the uiwãla consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to oft-repeated

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admonitions and sharp criticism. They /990/ are sent into the woods alone, where they must take the shortest path and walk along gravely without talking to one another. They are watched from a hiding-place. If they have succeeded in capturing an animal or have gathered enough wood fruits, the adults accompanying them sometimes begin eating these things on the way, while the hungry candidates watch this enjoyable repast. In the Tokugo hut they must often wait a long time between meals, so that their willfulness is completely crushed. They are purposely left squatting in an unpleasant place or a special burden (p. 768), and adults even put small animals on their backs to force them to cultivate self-control (p. 767). Not until the last one of all those present has been taken care of may they have a little of what they have previously distributed, of which individual persons return something to them.

Our otherwise so simple Tonsons have thought up all kinds of trials of patience for the young people they are trying to educate. For example, a girl who is just having her face painted is intentionally teased by having an adult purposely creep by her quite closely, push her and knock her over. Meanwhile an old man or a villainess says to her: "I can see very plainly how angry you are and how you are seething inside, wanting to hit back at the one who is tormenting you. Control yourself! Have you may not give vent to your anger as you would like to do. Do not dare forget yourself, we would thoroughly tame you! Of course you do not care for these words of mine, but you'll just have to listen to them. Just control yourself, there will be many other things you'll have to endure (314)!" It is no less difficult for many sensitive boys

> 314. For these sentences I am indebted to old Black who in general behaved very quietly and was a man of gentle disposition. Other persons who are lively and inclined to vehemence use irritating and scornful words.

and girls to be loudly reprimanded in front of all those present, and this usually only for incidents that must be regarded more as due to childish lack of understanding than as transgressions.

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Closely connected with practice in self-control is equally frequent practice in unselfishness. In the kíxaga hut the ulwála, in a manner of speaking, loses himself completely. He is unconditionally dependent on the will of the other participants, for he must obey everyone without contradiction. He must perform various tasks, and occasionally the adults wait purposely for unfavorable conditions in which to have these done. Thus, at the bidding of the leader, he must gather and bring in the necessary firewood. He is most likely to be sent into the woods for it when there is a storm outside and it is raining heavily. If there are many people in the Great Hut so that the adults do not have enough room near the fire, the candidates must let themselves be pushed back against the wall of the hut. Here they do not get the radiating warmth from the fire and besides feel more the cold air coming in from outside.

/315/ If the center space of the Great Hut is needed for greater freedom in dancing, the ulwála are ordered to the exit of the hut where they must crowd together. Even for sleeping at night they are permitted only the space that is required for lying sideways in the crouching position. A candidate who unconsciously stretches himself in his sleep is immediately forced back into the narrow space by his sponsor. The ulwála is merely told: "Everyone must learn to get along with the least possible space, so that other people will also find a place (315!"

315. The Yamana of most recent times have become very lenient about this demand of old. Neither I nor the other candidates were hindered by the indulgent Santiago from comfortably stretching out. Although the space was small, we could nevertheless partly rest our legs on the outer edge of the wide place where the fire was. Inasmuch as the Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones was a good 11 meters long and there were nine people on one side and 11 on the other, it is easy to calculate how much each of us could stretch out. The fact that the Yamana are small in stature does not make much difference.

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> Two years before, Alfredo, who was a strict leader, did not generally permit laxity with regard to the regulations. He made no exceptions, even for me.

In the matter of eating, the candidates are even more sharply held to the practice of unselfishness. Adults are regularly served their meals first. If it happens that after the food is distributed there is nothing left for some of the uwála, the adults do not worry about it, but let them wait until the next opportunity, without comforting or pitying them. Frequently the boys and girls go hunting and gathering to replenish the supply of meat for the many participants. They are required to bring absolutely everything to the Great Hut, or rather, to the couldut and place it at the disposal of the adults. No matter how hungry they are, they may not eat anything on the way. They would have no opportunity, since they are almost always accompanied by adults. In any case, they are so thoroughly intimidated that they observe the prohibition even when they are alone.

In general there is no preparation of food or roasting of large quantities of meat in the Cúnaxa hut. As soon as the uwála have brought in the fruits of their industry, the girls take their filled baskets along the two rows of participants and shake about two handfuls of berries, fungi, or mussels into the lap of each person. When each of the girls has made the rounds, she sits down in her accustomed place. It is only now that one woman or another gets up, goes to the girl, and returns a few small pieces. Now the latter, along with the adults, may roast and eat what was given to her. Outside the Great Hut the boys cut up the birds and sea lions they have caught. Inside each of them goes along the two rows of adults and puts a piece of meat at the feet of each one. After all have been served and the last bits have been distributed, the uwála squats down in his place. /892/ Usually his sponsor or even another man lets him have a small portion, as a token of acknowledgment, so to speak, which only now may he eat.

A person requiring something that he does not happen to have simply borrows it from an uwála without further ado.

/988 cont./

One evening during my first initiation, Nelly stepped into the Great Hut just as the dancing had begun. Since she wanted to take part, but had no dance staff, she simply took one from the nearest candidate and began swinging it in her hands. The candidate was obliged to remain seated and forgo the dancing. Later I saw an old man who had lost his hoe-staff simply take this article from the head of the candidate sitting opposite him, and he kept it until he lay down to sleep in the evening. Chris explained to me: "An ulwâla should feel honored if an adult uses one of his things!" The candidate must be prepared to have taken away from him, without demur, even the pieces of skin with which he covers his own body if an older person needs them.

Moreover, the adults repeatedly give the candidates an opportunity to practice what in general may be called devotion to duty. It is well known that they must squat motionless in their places until their sponsors permit them to lie down to sleep, usually not until after midnight. Sometimes, at a signal from the leader or overseer, all the adults crawl under their covers earlier, and the sponsors, too, pretend they are fast asleep, but for hours they secretly observe their candidates to see whether they are sitting motionless in their painful squatting position.

Our Yomana place particular stress on the exercise of strict, continued silence. Sometimes they send the ulwâla, unaccompanied, to a particular place in the forest. Here and there, however, a man in hiding closely observes their conduct. They are intentionally brought up to believe that they are being watched everywhere. A few days before their installation, a man leads them into the woods. Here they must address the trees as though the latter were living persons and introduce themselves with the following call: "ulwâla hâia hâi (I am now a candidate)!" Subsequently they conduct themselves respectfully in the forest and avoid chattering (p. 731). At the conclusion of the ziyaga celebration they again step up to the trees and announce to them that their trial period is now over (p. 731). Sometimes they find it necessary to say something else, but always this must be done in a low voice and as briefly as possible (306).

306. This rule generally also applies to the adult

/SEE conn. /

participants, as we shall point out specifically below (p.700), although this obvious duty has already been referred to several times.

The leader and each sponsor expects from the ufwãla quick and blind obedience to every order. It would never occur to a boy or girl to contradict or to show indolence. Sometimes strong measures are taken against their defects of character and obstinacy, for they may not show how rebellious they are inwardly /SEE/ and how their sense of honor has been offended. As a mere exercise in obedience a candidate is sometimes wakened in the middle of the brief period of sleep permitted him, in order to report to his place for about an hour; afterward he is allowed to sleep again, but in the morning he has no right to rest longer. One or another of them is sent out in rainy weather or in the dark of night, he is left standing for some time under a tree. After he has been brought back into the Great Hut, he must first sit at the entrance before he may compensate for the cold and dampness by sitting beside the fire. Alibedo explained the purpose of these measures to me and said briefly: "By means of such [coercion in obedience], the obstinacy of young people is broken and later on they will more easily follow what is customary among us Tonsawi!"

This point of view will explain best of all why our Fungians are remarkably strict about punishment. Minor offenses against the rules and involuntary movements which usually are due merely to carelessness are criticized with terse, serious words and characterized as major transgressions. Sometimes they are punished the very first time. Emotion or excuses are not allowed. Mercilessly the culprit is sent to a narrow place next to the exit where, for a day or even two days, depending on his offense, he is deprived of every scrap of meat and swallow of water. It is bad enough just to sit there, for the cold air from outside pours in whenever anyone lifts the scrap of leather covering it, and this is repeated often if there is much traffic. Moreover, this is farthest away from the warming hut fire. Some ufwãla have their sleep cut down to three hours for several nights, so that they will lose all resistance and become completely exhausted. Even in the cold of winter an ufwãla will be put outside for some time in order to

/Old com./

even him from the baths of comfort and softness.

Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the spectators. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as elsewhere in the Tshivenda law, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

Whatever a candidate must endure through the various punishments shows is felt directly and very painfully, but reference to the Supreme Being, to Wenyisilwa, is of higher moral value as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole Tshivenda institution. Wenyisilwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the main guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the Tshikanda is not a Tshivenda affair (XI)."

> XI. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Tshivenda, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

it comes from /Old/ Wenyisilwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the Tshikanda! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Wenyisilwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the children sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Wenyisilwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the Tshikanda rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Wenyisilwa Tshiṱa halahoṋa u-kumuṋa (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Tshivenda here, too, from repeating his name more

/Next week./

never have the *shoipa* are considered to the treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the *Kina*, to train the young people.

y Work Drills

A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the *shoipa* an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the *Kina* hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the *shoipa* conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the *Kina*!"

The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the *Kina* we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each *shoipa*. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/1972 corr./

(7) ntʉ̀ɔ̀ ɛ̀lìtɛ̀ ɛ̀bìgɛ̀mɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ ɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀wɔ̀ ɛ̀nɔ̀ɔ̀n
the again hit the old one in the woods

ìbɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m ɓìɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀?
my head, how I hear it?

/1976/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk, again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) ɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀wɔ̀ ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ ɛ̀bìgɛ̀mɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ ìbɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀
The old one me again hit my head

ɛ̀nɔ̀ɔ̀n ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m ɓìɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀?
in the woods, how I hear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of wɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀wɔ̀ to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb ɛ̀bìgɛ̀mɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word ɛ̀nɔ̀ɔ̀n is evidently synonymous with ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀nɔ̀, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) wɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀wɔ̀ ɛ̀ìkɛ̀ɔ̀ kɛ̀lɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ ɔ̀ɔ-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kɛ̀lɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ is related to kɔ̀lɛ̀ɛ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

K 575 /Kiva cont./
known, opens toward the east (p. 1218). The Vayuma can give no other reason for this rule than the custom governed the women back in the days when the Kiva was still in their hands. "Is this Great Hut we must stick closely to everything that was once customary among the women!" This was the answer I received when I asked for the meaning and origin of this rule (302).

302. This custom could be interpreted as an indication that the Kiva celebration originated in the northern regions, as the origin myth closely states (p. 1327).

K 58 /1955/ The leader now and then makes a candidate try
848 out the exercises for the dances and spirit appearances and work on them, and some of the young men do this on their own. They are all willing, for each one likes to appear before the others in the role of a spirit. An experienced man will give directions and probably also perform, while the men in the audience give their opinions. Such rehearsals, of course, take place inside the Great Hut, under the cover of a dark night they also take place outside near the entrance. It is only after a young man or a candidate is able to perform the dance movements perfectly and very likely that he is permitted to assume the role of a spirit in front of the women and children. Such exercises also show which mask is more suitable for this or that role. Accordingly, he must then perfect himself in whichever role suits him. In this way the group of men makes sure that well-trained young people are able to portray the long list of spirits.

K 575 In addition to the above-mentioned formalities pertaining
•867 to the personal appearance and posture of the candidate, there is, of course, also the explanation of the meaning of the celebration, which is given at the very beginning along with the myth of its origin. Beyond that, this or that uwíala will also receive instruction and admonition in case a few of the men feel that he needs it. It is not at all rare for the old people to observe that an uwíala dismissed from the Tíiyano is not sufficiently serious about the teachings and principles he received there. The adults carefully note evidences of weakness and improper behavior on

/1906 corr./

his own and they will each other about it quite openly with a view to correcting the lad's mistakes at the next Kina festival. Naturally this is always only a matter of the individual personality of the ulwalo in question and certain weaknesses of character. Usually a close relative takes it upon himself to impress the lad with admonitions and to correct whatever has given cause for worry and complaint. A Kina festival is truly the best opportunity at which a young man can be seriously influenced by the weight of authority enjoyed by an older fellow-villager. Here, after all, he is an ulwalo, and as such he is at the mercy of the entire community, to be supervised and taught by them. Out of human conviction and far-seeing concern for the public welfare, the old people are anxious to repress thoroughly those inclinations and tendencies among the young people which might develop into serious faults of character. That is why the man who takes care of the candidate and who is also related to him asks one or another of the participants to help him, not infrequently the leader himself. All of them, one today and another tomorrow, talk seriously to the ulwalo insofar as his faults or his weaknesses of character demand it. They teach him in all kindness, solicitously warn him and do not hesitate to /1906/ predict that his faulty development will lead to a bad end. A person who takes an interest in an ulwalo in this way feels that he is fully justified and obligated to do so. If it is shown years later that his efforts have been without success, this man justifies himself before the group and reminds them of all the things he did for the ulwalo back in the Kina. Then, even during the men's celebration at least a few young people are taught according to the general principles that they were given in the Kina. One is surprised at the general solicitude shown once again in the Kina for the rising generation, to make each one "a good and useful human being."

It has already been mentioned that in exceptional cases the Tamana also admit a woman to their men's celebration (p. 1214). They explain this strange insistence as follows. In former times a woman would occasionally approach the Great Hut out of curiosity. Instantly several men set upon her and dragged her away with them by force. As punishment they held her captive in the Great Hut for a few days. Although she was blindfolded and the men behaved

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The genuine part of the circumcision ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the Finnie, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the Finnie would seize them. Sometimes the Finnie actually appeared—a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real Finnie was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose feet the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be obedient in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be graceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to lose about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil Finnie threatened them, while the supreme Wakonmon observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely-woven quillskin basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women